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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[5]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [364] [754]

[3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[4] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[4] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another
859 person without being punished only if the owner gives per-
261 mission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[6] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[6] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wí was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the luluai and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rambini, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[122] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
858 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hen came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the 123 241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat [857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis [252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered [264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate [262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and [461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother, 356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tongwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyamps and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Qwiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup soup (kow fovf)

Informant: Qwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Mey

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, sfwf)

Informant: Awa

niiingf (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yentfhf (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwf (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Mey

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

3:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago